

The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

Vol. I, No. 5

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Resist the Terror!

GARY and the steel strike are a challenge to the workers. . . .

Capitalism is desperate. It senses the awakening of the workers and their coming revolt. Capitalism in the United States finds it more and more difficult to maintain its power, to prevent the workers from acting as a class for the overthrow of Capitalism.

The American workers, as if just awakening from the sleep of ages, are becoming conscious of larger means and purposes in the struggle against Capitalism. Everywhere there is unrest and developing revolt. Strikes are assuming a menacing character; Congress is held in contempt; the power of the press over the workers is weakening; while, most menacing of all, workers in the trades unions are in actual revolution against their old officials and reactionary policy.

Capitalism must act. Congress passes law after law against the militant workers. Agitators are imprisoned by the scores. "Criminal Syndicalism" measures in state after state make almost any advocacy of militant proletarian action a crime. Congress is considering prohibiting strikes in certain industries. The iron claws of reaction are seizing the proletariat.

Legislative measures are not the only means of repression of the workers used by Capitalism. Capitalism maintains itself by force; and behind all these measures there is the armed force of the capitalist state, the agency for the oppression of the workers by capital. This armed force is now being mobilized against workers on strike, as it is mobilized in Europe against workers in Revolution.

The steel strike had not yet started when capital mobilized its armed forces against the workers. Meetings are prohibited; strike agitators are murdered and imprisoned. The terror of Capitalism is in action against the militant proletariat.

At this moment the class struggle is flaring up in all its intensity in Gary, Indiana, where thousands of steel workers on strike are being repressed by the power of the Federal government, including its army.

In the city of Gary—named after Steel Trust Gary and symbolical of Steel Trust domination—the steel strikers were solid in their determination to carry on to the end. They had revolted against intolerable conditions, against the deprivation of life, against being compelled to live as beasts of burden. It was a terrible thing, this strike, making their

livelihood still more precarious; but they struck, and they stood firm.

The city administration was against them. The press was against them. Church, press and government united against them.

It was not enough that the strikers should suffer the ordinary deprivations of a strike. It was not enough that they should suffer starvation. There was an industrial mutiny, and they had to pay the price of mutiny in blood.

Martial law prevails in Gary. The local government no longer exists. The army is in control and Major-General Leonard Wood is dictator. The Terror of Capitalism is in action.

What was the immediate cause for calling in the army? The strikers were denied the right to hold public demonstrations and parades. The hirelings of Capitalism know the value during strikes of demonstrations, parades and meetings. They arouse the spirit of the strikers, developing enthusiasm and courage. Unless they meet together and demonstrate, the workers are isolated, and isolation breeds suspicion, fears and a weakening of morale. Morale is vital during a strike; meetings and demonstrations are necessary to maintain this morale. Realizing this psychological factor, the first act of the hirelings of Capitalism during a strike is to prevent meetings and demonstrations of the strikers.

The strikers of Gary were prevented for two weeks from holding a mass parade. Permission was denied them. Then the strikers determined to hold their mass demonstration in spite of the mayor's order to the contrary. And they did. In spite of the mayor, in spite of the order; the mass power of the workers conquered.

This was dangerous—to the capitalists and Capitalism. Capitalism acted. The army was called in; grenades and rifles and machine guns were to answer the workers.

And now Gary is under martial law. Now Gary is in the control of a military dictator. To the devil with civil liberty!

The Terror prevails in Gary. Machine guns and rifles and armored trucks bristle everywhere, prepared for action. And behind the array of military power, the skulking hirelings of Capitalism are active—the spies and the agents of the Department of Justice. Automobiles rush through the city, arresting strikers and agitators. Hundreds have been arrested; dozens are being prepared for deportation.

This is the terror of Capitalism in action. This is the terror used against the workers whenever the workers assert their independence.

There is industrial mutiny in Gary, and industrial mutiny is the prelude to industrial revolution. The mutiny must be crushed in order to crush the oncoming industrial revolution of the proletariat.

Every blow at the workers of Gary is a blow at the workers of the whole country. If the Terror prevails in Gary, it will prevail in every community where the workers mutiny against their industrial masters.

The capitalist state has intervened in Gary. The power of the capitalist state is being used against our fellow workers in Gary. This power will be used against the workers everywhere. Capitalism and the state have issued a challenge to the workers.

The workers must answer this challenge!

The workers must rally to the cause of their comrades in Gary, to the cause of their comrades in every city where the steel strike prevails.

The defeat of the steel strike would make all the more difficult victory for other strikers.

The victory of Capitalism and the state in Gary means victory again in the days to come.

Armed force must not prevail!

The workers must conquer!

They can conquer by means of solidarity, by means of using their mass power against Capitalism and the state, by rallying in mass strikes to the cause of their comrades in Gary.

Bring pressure to bear upon the state by means of mass strikes.

The class struggle is becoming acute. Terror is in action against the workers. The workers must resist the terror.

The process of the proletarian revolution consists in weakening the class power of the capitalists as against strengthening the class power of the workers. Victory for Capitalism and the state in Gary means strengthening the class power of the capitalists. Victory for the workers in Gary means strengthening the class power of the proletariat.

Workers, act! Out of your mass strikes to aid the Gary workers will come the impulse and the action for establishing a state of the workers, proletarian dictatorship, which will crush the capitalists as the capitalist state now crushes the workers.

The Communist

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Break the Blockade!

It is now confirmed that the Peace Conference has demanded of the reactionary government of Germany action in co-operation with the Allies for tightening the blockade of Soviet Russia.

This confirmation comes at the moment of the assault upon Riga by the German troops of Von der Goltz. The Peace Conference mildly condemns this attack, as it mildly condemns the Rumanian occupation of Budapest while rejoicing at the destruction of the Hungarian Soviet Republic by this occupation.

The Allies have been wavering between destroying Germany completely as a potential imperialistic rival, and using Germany against Soviet Russia and the general European revolution. The armistice with Germany while providing for the withdrawal of all German troops from most of the conquered territory provided for the retention of a German army in the Baltic provinces. This army the Allies proposed to use against the Bolsheviks. The new German government, dominated by the traitor Socialists, the imperialistic bourgeoisie and the Junkers, allowed the concentration in the Baltic provinces of counter-revolutionary troops. The Junkers manoeuvred to secure control of Von der Goltz's army, and succeeded. The Baltic provinces were cleared of the Bolsheviks and democratic, semi-Socialistic national governments established. But the landowners of the Baltic provinces, the German barons, were alarmed; using the bogey of Bolshevism they organized the West Russian Government, the only purpose of which is to restore the power of the German barons in the Baltic provinces and crush the mildly radical governments. The Junkers of Germany immediately saw their opportunity: if the Junkers could secure power again in the Baltic it might promote the complete restoration of the power of the Junkers in Germany. Hence the alliance between the Baltic German barons and Von der Goltz.

The Allies are undecided: the offensive of Von der Goltz would weaken the Bolsheviks, but simultaneously it would strengthen German power in the Baltic and facilitate German imperialistic penetration of Russia. The policy of the Allies directly makes for the restoration of autocracy in Russia and Germany.

This danger is all the more acute since the Allies' proposal to Germany for tightening the blockade of Soviet Russia. This blockade, the most infamous act of modern times, is starving millions of men,

women and children in Russia, is preventing the resumption of normal industrial relations in Europe, is strengthening international reaction.

The German Government is, on the whole, in the control of the very reactionary forces that the Allies waged war against: the imperialistic bourgeoisie, the Junkers and the War Socialists. This German government seeks the opportunity of restoring the imperialistic power of Germany. The Allies are now uniting with this reactionary government against Communist Russia, precisely as Bismarck and the French bourgeoisie united against the Paris Commune in 1871. International Capitalism unites against Communism, against the proletarian conquest of power.

The blockade of Soviet Russia unifies the forces of international oppression. The blockade not only starves the women and children of Russia; it strengthens the counter-revolution in Russia, it strengthens reaction in Germany, Austria and Hungary, it is a vital phase of the policy of the governments of France, England, Italy and the United States in preventing the proletariat from conquering power. The blockade of Communist Russia is a danger thrust at the heart of the Russian workers and at the heart of the workers of the world.

Workers, men and women: You must act! Break the blockade of Soviet Russia by means of mass strikes!

Magnificent!

Occasionally man rises to the heights of epic magnificence. One of these occasions was at the Industrial Conference when Samuel Gompers, ill and weak, in trembling hoarse tones, "eloquently repudiated the insinuation that the American workers were embracing Bolshevism." Gompers recalled that three weeks before Wilson declared war a conference of 136 labor leaders had pledged to back the government to the limit; that labor loyally kept its pledge during the war; that labor had never used the war for its own advantage; that union labor was willing to co-operate with capital; and that the organized workers, far from contemplating revolution, loved their government and were the most patriotic and loyal in the world: "Gompers shook with emotion and his voice quavered as he violently defended the loyalty and patriotism of organized labor." The gentleman making the insinuation apologized.

It was magnificent! An aged, ill man defying calumny and compelling an apology, heroically securing a victory for labor in spite of terrible odds.

But what Gompers actually said was this:

"You can depend upon organized labor; we as its leaders are loyal to Capitalism. We are always ready to mobilize the workers as cannon-fodder in your wars. We shall prevent the workers from becoming radical, from initiating revolutionary measures. You and I are part of the governing system of things; and we shall defend our privileged status. You must cease your attacks upon the labor leaders: Your interest and theirs are identical."

Gompers condemned labor to industrial slavery, oppression and wars. It was magnificent—for Capitalism.

The Joy of Life

In a recent interview, N. Bukharin, a dominant personality in the Soviet Republic and the Communist Party of Russia, discusses the problem of prohibition. Bukharin declares that prohibition is rigidly enforced in Russia, a severe penalty being imposed for violation of the Soviet regulations; that a drunk man in Moscow or Petrograd is a rarity.

But, proceeds Bukharin, these restrictions are temporary, made necessary by the civil war; after this necessity is over, the restrictions will be modified "and fine wines introduced for the use of the workers." The Communist, declares Bukharin, is not an ascetic, but a firm believer in life and the joy of life,—a Pagan rather than a Puritan.

In this, there is another contrast between the sincere, human philosophy of the Communist, and the deadening hypocrisy of bourgeois "civilization".

Capitalism develops two extremes — compulsory self-denial for the workers and corrupting self-indulgence for the bourgeois. Each extreme is vicious, demoralizing, a denial of life and the joy of life.

The bourgeois possesses an animal conception of life. Power—debauchery—brutality—that is the unholy bourgeois trinity. A social system based upon oppressor and oppressed, upon master and slave, can never develop a human conception of life. Luxury is considered joy, excesses self-expression. Through it all there runs the black thread of hypocrisy: does any one really believe that prohibition prohibits for the rich? . . .

The other philosophy—for the oppressed, the workers—is a slave philosophy of work. The masses live to work, and not work to live. The burden of excessive toil imposes a burden upon the human spirit—there is no real self-expression for the masses of the people. Self-denial is the ideal that religions and class morality impose upon the workers. Self-denial—itsself a denial of life and the urge of life! Work—a means to an end made an end in itself!

Self-denial and self-indulgence each pervert the human spirit. The urge to life becomes under Capitalism the urge to the meretricious things of life; self-expression becomes either a perversion of life or mechanical routine; liberty of the individual becomes a mockery among the workers and an incitement to degeneracy among the bourgeois.

Life is stultified, joy perverted, and culture vitiated by the fetters imposed upon individual self-expression.

Capitalism, moreover, perverts life by making it a struggle for material well-being. In a class society, the struggle of man over nature becomes a means of aggrandizing the masters, and not a means of realizing life for the people. Communism, by ending class divisions and by mobilizing all the industrial resources for the use of life, ends the miserable struggle for existence, makes work a secondary consideration. Life and the joy of life become supreme — self-expression becomes the means to a finer culture, individual liberty the inspiration for a self-imposed discipline.

There have been moments in the history of the world when the potential

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Tactical Problems

IN the development of an American Communist party, as in the development of the Communist party in all nations, there is necessary an adaptation of old revolutionary concepts to the new. There are elements who still cling to the old; and other elements who in the enthusiasm for the new reject the experience of the old.

The Communist Party realizes the importance of this problem; it appreciates the importance of industrial unionism and the concepts developed by De Leon; it appreciates the importance of the One Big Union movement and of unionism generally. But the Communist Party still more appreciates the importance of the concepts of mass action and proletarian dictatorship, of the experience of the proletarian revolution in action.

This process of adjustment between the old and the new is difficult, although indispensable. Some, like the I. W. W. and the S. L. P., reject the new altogether and cling to the old. Some, like the Communist Labor Party, make a hash, instead of a synthesis, of the old and the new.

In its program the Communist Labor Party is not at all clear on fundamentals. We have mentioned its misleading formulation of mass action, its failure to limit participation in the elections, its confusing the revolutionary use of parliamentarism with the use of the machinery of the bourgeois state. In its program the C. L. P. makes still another serious error. It says:

"In America there is a highly developed Labor movement, and this makes it impossible to accomplish the overthrow of Capitalism except through the agency of the organized workers."

This means—

—either, that the American Federation of Labor, which is "the highly developed Labor movement" in the United States, becomes the agency of the revolution;

—or, it means the I. W. W. concept that there can be no revolution until the majority of the workers—some maintain 100%—are organized into industrial unions.

It is sheer absurdity to maintain that the A. F. of L. can become the agency of the proletarian revolution. The A. F. of L. is a bulwark of Capitalism; it will in the final crisis unite itself with the bourgeois state. Our attitude toward the A. F. of L. must be to fight it, to split away from it unions and workers who accept the revolutionary conception of the proletarian movement. It is difficult for us to believe that there was any delegate at the C. L. P. convention so reactionary as to accept this view of the A. F. of L. But the C. L. P. program says: "In America there is a highly developed labor movement"—this can mean nothing but the A. F. of L.;—"and this makes it impossible to accomplish the overthrow of Capitalism except through the agency of the organized workers."

But we shall grant that this is not the C. L. P. conception. In another place in the program the C. L. P. says: "There is in America a centralized economic organization of the capitalist class which is a unit in its battle with the working class, and which can be opposed only

by a centralized economic organization of the workers."

The Communist Party appreciates the importance of a centralized industrial organization of the workers, of industrial unionism. This is a problem not alone of the immediate struggle, but of the transition from Capitalism to Communism, since after the conquest of power and proletarian dictatorship the industrial unions will become the starting point of the Communist reconstruction of society. But the C. L. P. program makes it appear that the industrial organization is the most important, ignoring the dynamics of mass action and the process necessary to achieve proletarian dictatorship. But it is a repudiation of Communist fundamentals to isolate industrial organization as the Communist Labor Party does. Industrial unionism must be related to mass action and to the general Communist program; any other course is an evasion of the problems of the revolution. Revolutionary mass action and not industrial unionism will conquer the power of the state.

There are delegates to the C. L. P. convention who will "interpret" these contradictions as not being contradictions; they may quote some other sentence in the program to confirm their interpretation. But a program that must be interpreted in this way is not a consistent program of theory and practice.

The divergent elements at the C. L. P. convention united in one thing: opposition to the old Socialist Party. But they were not united on theory and practice. The different elements compromised each with the other, and a compromise program was manufactured. But a compromise program of this character is not the basis for a real Communist movement.

THE JOY OF LIFE

Continued from page two

beauty of life partly flowered. There were the Pagan Greeks; there was the Renaissance—each with its philosophy of self-expression, of life and the joy of life. But these efflorescences of the human spirit were limited by their class character, by not including the whole of humanity, but being based upon the oppression of the majority. The Pagan Greeks ended in degeneracy, the Renaissance in libertinage. The emancipation of humanity is necessary to realize life and the joy of life.

The Communist program implies the emancipation of humanity from material oppression; but it equally implies emancipation from oppression of the spirit of man—freeing life from the fetters imposed upon its expression, its joy and its beauty.

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"The Class Struggle"

IN the spring of 1917 a group of comrades in New York City decided to issue a Left Wing organ. Among these comrades were Leon Trotzky, N. Bukharin, Alexandra Kollontai and Sen Katayama. Before the first number was issued the first three comrades left for Russia. The magazine, "The Class Struggle" appeared in May, 1917, with L. B. Boudin, Louis C. Fraina and Ludwig Lore as editors.

The group issuing the magazine was not a unified group. The first struggle of policy appeared on Boudin's attitude on the war, a struggle emphasized by the Bolshevik Revolution and Boudin's opposition to it. One group, led by Fraina, insisted that Boudin should be ousted; another group, led by Lore, urged compromise and unity. Finally Boudin's actions became so impossible that the compromisers were compelled to yield and Boudin resigned.

There was peace after that until the Left Wing developed as an organized movement. Again Lore appeared as a compromiser. Lore did not approve of a Left Wing organization, did not want the magazine to officially endorse the Left Wing, although willing to carry its propaganda. "The Revolutionary Age" at the time stigmatized Lore as "a cheap American imitation of Hugo Haase". Again after a struggle, the impulse of events swept the compromisers into the Left Wing.

But the attitude of these compromisers toward the Left Wing was vacillating. Lore never participated actively in the Left Wing organization, insisted on his right to speak on the same platform with Right Wing speakers, and generally compromised and hesitated. Then about two months ago Lore was slated for expulsion from the Left Wing, charges having been preferred against him.

At Chicago, during the conventions, Lore again compromised miserably. Although instructed to participate in the Communist Party convention, Lore disobeyed these instructions and participated in the Communist Labor Party convention.

At a meeting of "The Class Struggle" group two weeks ago the question was the disposal of "The Class Struggle". At first Lore proposed neutrality for the magazine concerning the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party; but then changed his mind. At the meeting eight voted in favor of neutrality; on the final vote 13 favored turning the magazine over to the Communist Party and 16 in favor of the Communist Labor Party, six of those favoring the C. L. P. having first voted in favor of neutrality and at least one still being a member of the Socialist Party!

Precisely those who wavered concerning Boudin, who compromised miserably on the Left Wing—Centrists all—voted in favor of the Communist Labor Party.

This is significant of the elements which are rallying to the Communist Labor Party—compromisers, Centrists, masters of the revolutionary phrase and poltroons in action.

The Drift of Things

ONE of the correspondents at the Industrial Conference, convened by Wilson for the solution of the differences between capital and labor, described the "public" group as varying from darkest brown of reactionism to "salmon pink" of radicalism.

Undoubtedly the brightest end of the spectrum denotes the traitor Socialists, Spargo and Russell, who have given such thorough proof of their capitalist serviceability as to be acceptable to the President. We beg to suggest that accuracy would demand that the reporter change his descriptive from "salmon pink" to just plain "yellow."

And, by the way, this Industrial Conference performance is so tame that even the A. F. of L. mossbacks are threatening to bolt!

* * *

HERBERT HOOVER, food dispenser extraordinary, while enjoying balmy California luxury upon Asiatic profits, is now dispensing philosophy (in economical doses.) Consider the following:

"Nothing but political, moral and economic chaos, finally interpreting itself in loss of life on a scale hitherto undreamed of, is upon us, unless the world is to be returned to normal work. The economic impulse of the French and other revolutions of the 18th century was the better division of land. The economic impulse of the revolution of the past two years has been the better division of industrial production."... The wind-up is the usual plea for more production as the cure-all....

The war casualty rate of 1914 to 1918 was about two million per annum slain and five million per annum maimed. This was all within the "normal work" of Capitalism; all part of its law-and-order. The peace casualties of Capitalism are not much less.

On the eve of the French Revolution the division of land was considerably better than is the present division of ownership of all sources of production in the United States today, terrible as was the deprivation of the 18th century peasants.

The economic impulse of the world revolution of today is intensified by the tremendously increased potentialities of wealth production, potentialities which cannot be turned to the mass use under the profit system.

Capitalism has come to the stage when its entire existence depends upon blood and iron; when its every day of life means perpetuation of "political, moral and economic chaos"; when it can only survive by "loss of life on a scale hitherto undreamed of."

Only revolution can return the world to normal work—with the new norm established of production to satisfy the human wants: To each according to his needs! From each according to his ability!

There can never be a world of "normal work" based upon satisfactory tabulations on the stock markets and in the counting rooms.

A SWISS political writer, Maurice Millioud, (by Universal Press Service cable), is authority for the statement that the Fiume controversy is explained by

these facts: that an Anglo-American shipping combine with a capital of \$35,000,000 is endeavoring to get a monopoly of Fiume harbor to control Adriatic commerce; that an American concern has already obtained exclusive operating rights on the Serbo-Croat-Slovene railways, but that the Roumanian government refused a similar proposition. The Vacuum Oil Company (a Standard Oil subsidiary) recently contracted with the Czecho-Slovak government to operate all the territory of this new self-determined nation, but again Standard Oil was refused the same monopoly control of the Roumanian oil fields.

Control of the Serbian and Roumanian railways means control of the Orient express, and thereby control of the land transport between the Black Sea and most of Europe. Control of these railways means the chance to concentrate the entire trade of Eastern Europe via Fiume and the Adriatic.

This is given as the explanation of the insistence upon giving Klagenfurt, the railway key point, to Serbia; because in this way the Austrian commerce can be cut off from Trieste in favor of Fiume.

This cable states that Colonel House favored giving Fiume to Italy, but was overruled, "thanks to the efforts of Warburg and other financial combines." Also, the leader of the party of Fiume autonomists has been an agent of the Vacuum Oil Company (Gotthardi). A Serbian Fiume or an autonomous Fiume will serve the purposes of this plan, but not an Italian Fiume.

Whether this statement is correct in detail we cannot say. But what is certain enough from the diplomatic history of a generation is that this is just exactly the kind of controversy which is at the bottom of all questions of revision of boundaries and of "self-determination", as viewed by the Allied Imperialists.

* * *

SENATOR CUMMINS has put on the legislative calendar his bill to make a railroad strike illegal. There is much to consider in this, if the bill becomes a law. Meanwhile it is a striking testimonial, among many others, to the actual influence of the A. F. of L. at Washington that such a measure comes up for consideration. Servile unionism is bound to get its just deserts. It merits the contempt of both aggressive Capitalism and of aggressive labor.

With such a law on the books, and with unwillingness of the government to coddle the railroad workers, there might be such a thing as an illegal railroad strike. And then?

* * *

HEARST'S Chicago paper boasts about this city's Americanism on the showing that there were 441 convictions obtained in this city under the Espionage and other war acts, with practically no acquittals, whereas there were conspicuous acquittals elsewhere!

The "impartial historian" who is yet to free Chicago's Americanism from "calumny" may have somewhat different notions about Americanism and the calumny thereof.

There is the additional boast of the gallows record after the Haymarket

bombing in 1886—one of the most outrageous cases of judicial murder in all records of criminal law).

What a strange and ugly thing has this "Americanism" grown to be!

* * *

AN EXTENSIVE study has just been completed by the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Labor on the "American standard of living." This study was extended to a dietary basis, that is, the energy value of the food consumed by the families under observation was computed. The startling result was that 50% to 75% of the families were found to be getting not enough food to provide sufficient nourishment for normal activity.

An adequate diet is not reached until the scale of family income goes to \$1800, and in some localities the necessary minimum is \$2000, though in a few cases \$1600 was found sufficient (these variations occurring in different parts of the country). An income of \$1300 was found enough for the nourishment of a husband and wife, and in most cases a husband, wife and child of 2. But this income was found deficient for husband, wife and three children aged 2, 5 and 11; and of course decidedly deficient in all cases with children aged 2, 5, 8, 11 and 14. With the five children the diet on the \$1300 basis was 65% normal.

Over half the families in the income class from \$1200-\$1500 receive less than adequate dietary. With the normal at 3500 calories, in Chicago over 25% of the families get under 2500 calories; and in New York, 33%; Boston, 23.5%; St. Louis, 21.5%; Denver, 20.9%; Providence, 41%; St. Paul and Minneapolis, 14.3%. This is a condition of extreme under-nourishment.

The "American standard of living" is not much to brag about.... The careful calculations of Oswald W. Knauth, in *The Dial* of September 6th, showed an annual surplus of some 30 billions in the United States—allowing a standard of minimum comfort to the entire population!

Starvation in the midst of fabulous wealth! And this is not demagogism, but hard fact developed by extensive study of the actual family living in about 90 typical cities from every section of the country.

* * *

"AN INJUNCTION to restrain the publishers from further printing and distributing Thomas F. Millard's 'Democracy and the Eastern Question' has been received by the Century Company. Some one in Washington thinks Mr. Millard has revealed private and confidential matters, though no charge is made that he broke faith with any official. He is not himself an official of the United States government. He is an American editor and owner of a periodical published in China, where he has lived many years. The book considers the present economic and political conditions of China.... He says that the promise of Japan is not to be trusted and that she means practically to take possession of China, and his ideas about the Shantung affair are violent and outspoken." (Chicago Tribune, September 28).

An Appeal from Petrograd

COMRADES:—In troubled times, we, the workers of the city of Petrograd, have held the regular elections for our Soviet. The elections were held at a time when the armies of your governments were threatening our city and when we were suffering unheard of hunger as a result of the blockade imposed upon us by your governments. Nevertheless, the workers of Petrograd have remained at their posts, hundreds of thousands of them taking part in the elections of our Soviet. Today this newly elected Soviet has convened for the first time. Thousands of representatives of the workers, the Red Army, the sailors, the day laborers and the workers' organizations are participating in our assembly.

And with one accord, we direct this message to you: We shall continue to support the Soviet system, the dominion of the workers and peasants. To the last breath we shall fight for the triumph of Socialism against the bourgeoisie.

In this solemn hour we turn to you with this question: Why have the governments of your countries undertaken a campaign against our city, why are they bringing disorder into our city, why are they shooting down our fathers and brothers, why are they forcing us to starve? All the reports of a reign of terror in Petrograd sent out into the world by the bought press of the bourgeoisie are impudent lies. We are suffering from hunger, we are breaking down at our work in the shops, yet in our ranks proletarian discipline and perfect order reign. We are defending ourselves against our enemies, they are attacking us on all sides, and yet step by step, we are creating the proletarian state. In the eyes of your bourgeoisie, we are at fault because we were the first to raise the red flag, the first to do away with the Czar and the bourgeoisie, because for two years we have been holding power in our hands, and because we have given the fields to the peasants and the factories to the workers.

**To the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors in England, France, Italy, America, Sweden, Finland, Esthonia, and Serbia—
A proclamation of the Newly Elected Soviet in Petrograd.**

Your governments hate us because we have made public the secret treaties which your governments made with the Czar. Your governments hate our city because it was the first to hoist the flag of the proletarian revolution.

We are appealing particularly to the workers and soldiers of Esthonia and Finland. For two years you have been deceived. You were told that we wish to conquer Esthonia and Finland. This is untrue! At the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets, our representative, Comrade Zinoviev, announced in the name of the whole Soviet government, openly and clearly, that our armies received official orders under no circumstances to cross the boundaries of Finland and Esthonia. The Central Executive Committee is the highest executive body in all Russia. A decree issued by that body is absolutely official. Comrades:—We are convinced that for you, too, the hour is approaching when you will free yourselves from oppression by the bourgeoisie. The governments of your countries are doing their best to destroy themselves. Yet we do not wish to fight you. It is your governments that are provoking war.

Comrades:—How long are you going to allow your governments to supply the parasites and hangmen with arms, money, officers, and food? In the Murman district, English, French, Italian, and Serbian troops are fighting us. At Narva the Swedish slaughter divisions are opposing us. Along the whole Esthonian and Finnish boundary the government troops of those countries have been and are fighting against us. Your governments are sending spies and agents to Petrograd. These rascals are causing explosions in Petrograd, are

throwing out sacks of gold in order to recruit rebels and traitors among the Russians. The butchers' government of Finland is sending airships to bombard our villages and stations.

For all that, we do not give up and never shall. We are convinced, Comrades, that in your countries too, the Red Flag will triumph. We live under the conviction that the workers of France, England, America, Italy, and the other countries will not allow their bankers and landowners to use them as the gendarmes and hangmen of the workers' revolution.

Your governments say that they do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. But this is an impudent lie. Your governments have recognized as the legal ruler of all Russia the miserable slave and murderer, Admiral Kolchak, against whom the workers and peasants of Siberia and the Urals are now revolting.

Your governments are throwing out billions to help the Czarist generals to re-establish the Monarchy. Your governments are supplying the counter revolutionists in Russia with all necessities from tanks to spies. Your governments have helped slaughter thousands of workers in Yakatrinoslav and Kharkov, only because they were workers. Your governments are responsible for the atrocities of the slaves who, before they evacuated Perm, burned several thousand imprisoned Red Guardists. Your governments are responsible for the famine in our land.

Arise in revolt, Comrades, put an end to the crimes of your governments. Extend the hand of brotherhood to the workers in the other countries. Do everything in your power to withdraw support from the counter-revolutionaries in Russia.

We send you our fraternal greetings and cry out together with you, "LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION OF THE WORKERS IN ALL LANDS!"

Break the Blockade of Soviet Russia!

The first great campaign undertaken by the Communist Party is the struggle to arouse the workers to action against the blockade of Soviet Russia.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon all units of the organization to celebrate the beginning of the third year of the existence of the workers' government of Russia by wide-spread agitation against the blockade. It is the work of the Communist Party to furnish the leadership that will lead to action. From November 7th to 9th all branches should arrange mass meetings and adopt resolutions against the blockade. Use your local speakers for this purpose as the nationally known speakers will be used for great mass meetings that will be held in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis and in other cities.

Our meetings, however, will be only the minor effort of this campaign. We must reach more people than will attend our mass meetings, be they ever so large. We must speak with a million voices and to millions of people.

We can do this through a literature distribution. The National Organization has prepared a leaflet "Break

the Blockade of Russia" that will stir the workers of this country to action. We must distribute this leaflet by the millions during the first week in November. The presses are already running printing the first big edition and will be kept running until every party organization is supplied.

Every party unit must act at once. Call a meeting. Decide how many leaflets you can distribute in your city and send in your order. The leaflets will sell at \$1.50 per thousand.

Comrades, agitation must come before the work of organization which will make possible the use of the mighty powers of the workers. This is a campaign to stir the workers to come to the rescue of our comrades in Russia whom the international financial pirates are seeking to strangle to death.

Communists, ours is a party of action. Let us show by our first major campaign that already we have power, we can influence the masses. Let us speak in a million voices in the interests of our comrades whose shining example has inspired us all.

To the Proletarian Youth

By G. Zinoviev

Chairman, Executive Committee of the Communist International

(Translated by Nathan Charbrow).

Comrades:—

DURING the imperialist war it was the industrial and agricultural workers who bore the heaviest losses. Millions and millions of factory and rural workers fell,—in the flower of their youth a sacrifice to the interests of the small cliques of capitalists. The bourgeois governments sent the conscious youth of the working class into battle for a twofold purpose: 1) to conquer their fellow-bourgeois competitors, and thus increase their profits; and 2) to annihilate the most restless, the most aggressive and the most revolutionary among their workers.

The proletarian youth it was that suffered most during the war of 1914-1919. But the proletarian youth it was also that first raised the voice of protest against that destructive war. When the official Socialist and Social-Democratic parties went over to the bourgeoisie and began to praise the bandit-war as a war of "right" and "freedom", the organizations of the youth rose up against this treachery. The Scheidemanns and Eberts in Germany, the Renaudels and Thomases in France, the Hyndmans and Hendersons in England, the Renners and Austelitzes in Austria, the Brantings in Sweden, the Gomperses in America, and the impostors and traitors in all other lands met with opposition on the part of the proletarian youth.

The time has now come to strengthen the YOUTH'S INTERNATIONAL. The working youth of all the world must determinedly make their own history.

The Communist International, founded in Moscow in the month of March 1919, invites all the organizations of the youth to align and unite themselves with the Communist International. The Commu-

Young Peoples Communist Leagues

THE convention of the Communist Party of America decided that Young People's Communist Leagues shall be organized under the jurisdiction of the party and in affiliation with the party.

To carry out the decision of the convention the Executive Council of the party has issued a call for a National Conference of Young People's Communist Leagues to bring into existence a national organization. The Executive Council has also authorized the publication of a monthly magazine to be the official organ of the Young People's Communist Leagues.

All young people's organizations which endorse the principles of the Communist party and wish to join in the formation of a national organization are urged to communicate with C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, 1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill., or with Comrade Carlson, former secretary of the Young People's Socialist Leagues.

ists consider the activity in the working youth's ranks as of the highest obligation, a work which must suffer no delay. Karl Liebknecht, the International's great warrior, murdered by the treacherous

Scheidemann-Socialists, was one of the most energetic organizers of the movement of the youth. The Soviet Republic seeks to help the industrial and rural working youth with all the strength and apparatus at its command.

In Berne a Yellow "International" has been founded. The murderers of Karl Liebknecht have united themselves with the betrayers of the French workmen. This Yellow "International" is a fighting weapon in the hands of the Entente Imperialists. Kautsky, who stands for "unity", is, together with Scheidemann, in reality a bourgeois servant.

We are convinced that the working youth can have nothing in common with this fraudulent, lying, treacherous "International". The working youth of all the world are uniting themselves as one man with the living INTERNATIONAL, with the Communist International. The long-awaited battle for workers' power, for proletarian dictatorship, for Communism, is coming. The working class will have revenge for the insults cast upon the workers' banner during the five years' war. All over the world the workers are forming their councils as the means to the realization of Socialism. Against the bourgeois black army we are organizing our own red army, and the working youth shall fight on the foremost barricade for the victory of the Soviet system.

Long live the Proletarian Youth!

Long live the Youth's Communist International!

The Socialist Party Apostle Speaks

By Nicholas I. Hourwich.

AFTER a long period of silence the "apostle" of the American Socialist Party, Morris Hillquit, has again spoken. His declaration appeared in the *New York Call* (September 22nd), under the somewhat solemn and hollow title: "We are all Socialists." This declaration was reprinted in the *Chicago Socialist* and no doubt in other of the Socialist Party papers.

Like all apostles, Morris Hillquit appears on the stage and pronounces judgments only under the most extraordinary circumstances. His preceding public statement in the press appeared a few months ago just before the national organization of the Left Wing, preceding any formal break with the Right Wing. This statement was freely credited at that time with being the effective appeal "to clear the party decks" of non-conformist and insurgent elements. It was the text read and discussed by the old National Executive Committee at the meeting when they began the expulsion of more than half the party membership. Now the reason for breaking his vow of silence (since his illness can hardly be considered as the only reason for a silence like that of the grave which Hillquit has maintained lately, especially after the fact of convalescence for the purpose of the former press statement)—the reason is undoubtedly the consummation of the split of the Socialist Party

into three separate parties, and especially the formation of the Communist Party.

So ruthless were his followers in carrying out his order to "clear the decks" that Hillquit now takes an unexpectedly conciliatory attitude, quite different from that in his previous declaration, even finding it necessary to reprimand his zealous followers in fatherly fashion for their "infraction of Socialist ethics and decency" in making vicious attacks against the Left Wing in the capitalist press.

Hillquit misses the point that these attacks by the leaders of the Socialist Party in the bourgeois press upon the Left Wing were not an accidental mistake, but an inevitable outcome of the whole social-reformist position of the parties of the Second International, the American Socialist Party included. Parliamentary first, and above all, one of the many small screws in the bourgeois parliamentary machine, striving to acquire a position of larger importance, the American Socialist Party, like its European sisters, values its reputation for ability and "respectability" in the eyes of bourgeois political public opinion above everything else. It needs this reputation for the support by one or another of the competing capitalist political parties of the reforms which it introduces. In its ambition to secure for itself this reputa-

tion, the American Socialist Party would not have mercy on its own "father", and, of course, would not be ceremonious with some "mad" Left Wing....

It should be remembered that, in its substance, just this ambition to prove to bourgeois public opinion its "ability" and "respectability"—its lack of sympathy for all sorts of "wild" ideas and "crazy dreams"—was to a great extent responsible for the governmental activity of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske (ambition to make a good showing before the Allies and in that way to "save" Germany). This motive explains the zealous work of the Milwaukee "Socialist" district attorney, and many others of the same noble company. Even the late Plekhanov, who was a giant in comparison with the Socialist nonentities who are now barking at the Left-Wingers in the American press, could not refrain from appearances in the bourgeois press with accusations against the "Blanquists". This has been done, is being done, and, we do not doubt for one moment, will yet be done in spite of all admonitions, by the social-opportunists and the social-reformists of all lands.

The rest of the Hillquit document harmonizes with the part already analyzed. There is much sentimental lamenting which does not conform with the role of a political leader on the theme

Continued on page seven

The Party Organization

C. E. Ruthenberg Executive Secretary 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago.

German State Organization Joins in Communist Party.

The representatives of over twelve hundred members of the German branches of Ohio met in Cleveland on Oct. 12 to decide the future affiliation of the state organization. After a thorough discussion, during which all sides were heard, a vote was taken which resulted in a unanimous decision to affiliate with the Communist Party.

Forty-six delegates voted for such affiliation, eight did not vote at all because they wished to remain neutral and two had left before the vote was taken.

With this decision of the Ohio German organization about half the former German Federation has become part of the Communist Party. The Cleveland convention also adds "The Echo" German weekly, published by the Ohio State Agitation Committee, to the list of Communist publications.

Jewish Communist Federation Convention.

The former Left Wing Branches of the Jewish Federation held their convention in Philadelphia from Oct. 9 to 12. Forty-five branches, having 3,000 members, were represented. The convention was unanimous for the Communist Party, and the federation is now the Jewish Communist Federation.

Comrades Louis C. Fraina and Nicholas Hourwich addressed the delegates as representatives of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, and also spoke at a great mass meeting held the evening before the beginning of the convention. The convention began work to raise a fund of \$50,000 for the purpose of publishing a Communist Jewish daily. Of this amount \$2,500 was subscribed at the convention.

A central executive committee, including Comrades Loonin, Bittelman, Hiltzik, Winick, Halpen, Plotkin, Klitz and Lipsitz, was elected.

The Jewish Communist Federation is expected to be a strong unit of the Communist Party.

Ohio Membership in C. P.

Although the Ohio State Office is the headquarters of the Communist Labor Party, and the state secretary is executive secretary of that organization, the greater part of the Ohio membership is in the Communist Party. The decision of Local Cleveland alone carried one-third of the membership out of the state organization. The action of the German State Organization, the affiliation of the individuals and the Federation branches with the Communist Party leaves not more than a thousand members who are not affiliated with the Communist Party. Of these, some have not yet acted on their future affiliation and some have joined the Socialist Party.

A Fine Unity.

The Lettish Branches No. 1 and No. 2 of Cleveland celebrated their unification in the Communist party the other day. The two branches had existed as separate organizations for three or four years. When the Communist Party was organized both endorsed that party and they decided to unite. The day this was accomplished the united branch voted to donate \$100.00 to the Communist Party Organization Fund. That is the kind of unity that counts.

The Russian Soviet of Cleveland gave the Organization Fund another big boost when it sent in \$200.00. Other remittances to Organization Fund are as follows:

Sangamore Russian, \$41.75; Claremont, N. H., Russian, \$9.20; St. Paul German, \$25.00; Lindora, Pa., Russian, \$18.00; Sixth Russian Branch, New York City, \$50.00; Milwaukee Russian Branch, \$7.35; Pittsburgh Russian No. 1, \$12.15; Kenosha Russian, \$3.15; Racine Russian, \$60.30; Kenosha Russian, \$96.45; Milwaukee Russian, \$79.25; Binghampton, N. Y., Branches,

\$55.50; Ukrainian No. 122, \$4.00; Binghampton Russian, \$10.00; Third Russian, Pittsburgh, \$10.00; Rockford Russian, \$9.00; Lithuanian No. 137, \$10.10; Manchester, N. Y., Russian, \$10.90; Whiting Russian, \$1.62; Lithuanian No. 50, \$7.60; E. S. Smith, Warren, \$20.00.

The way the Organization Fund is going up is a tribute to the membership of the Communist Party. The fund must reach \$25,000. That means millions of leaflets, thousands of meetings, a training school for organizers and speakers and a powerful organization.

The North Side Branch of Pittsburgh has secured a Communist Party charter.

The Erie, Pa., City Central Committee has been chartered by the C. P.

Two New Jersey County Organizations have secured charters from the C. P.

Warren, Ohio, is the latest Ohio local to secure its charter. The Cincinnati German and Jewish branches have also affiliated with the party.

Branch No. 2 of Passaic, N. J., is C. P.

Charter applications are reaching the Communist Party headquarters in bunches these days. Eighty-six in one day recently was the record.

The Socialist Party

Continued from page six

"We are all Socialists", and the protestation that "the division was not brought about by differences on vital questions of principles"; that those differences which do exist "arose only over disputes on methods and tactics". (And in the previous statement Hillquit recommended a division of the party into its two fundamentally inconsistent elements, so that each could carry on its work to suit itself!... This differentiating between differences of "principles" and of "tactics", by the way, discloses the misunderstanding of the fundamental logical and vital connection between the two. This is another illustration of the wretchedness of political thought of this celebrated "leader of the American Socialists" who was bragged about as a god—in circles where least of all it might be expected.

In conclusion, to characterize this document, let us quote in full the following profound sentence: "Our newly bathed 'Communists' have not ceased to be Socialists even though in a moment of destructive enthusiasm they have chosen to discard the name that stands for so much in the history of the modern world.... The bulk of their following is still good Socialist material and when the hour of the real Socialist fight strikes in this country we may find them again in our ranks."

In this quotation—every word is a chef d'oeuvre!—Take, for instance, the paternal patting on the back of the American Communists, and with them the entire Communist International, this is, if not innocent naivete, then the height of political impertinence. And about the renaming of the Socialist into the Communist International! How many pens were spoiled upon this. Such a Titan of revolutionary thought as Lenin devoted series of articles to this subject, pointing out the necessity and the scientific reason for such change of name. But,

this, according to Morris Hillquit, is nothing but an act of "destructive enthusiasts"!...

Books and Pamphlets

The Communist Party is based upon a clear understanding of the forces now at work in the present Imperialistic Era. Its literature is the medium through which it increases the consciousness and enlightenment of the workers.

Every Communist organization, every Communist Party member should become a unit in the organization for the distribution of party literature and increase the knowledge of the party principles by placing books and pamphlets in the hands of the workers. To publish and distribute this literature is one of the great functions of our organization, for as knowledge and understanding increases among our members and the masses, our power grows.

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The Communist International

The Socialist Party of Italy Becomes Definitely Communist.

THE Socialist Party of Italy was revolutionary during the war. This spring the Party affiliated with the Communist International. The revolutionary conquest of the Party was completed at its Convention in Bologna last week, where the Socialist Party of Italy organized definitely as a Communist party. There were 48,000 votes cast for the Maximalist program, uncompromisingly Communist; 14,000 votes for affirmation of the program of 1892; and 3,000 votes cast for the "Abstentionist" program, which urges complete abstention from participation in the elections.

The Maximalist program, which is now the program of the Party, is as follows:

The history of society up to the present time has been a history of class war. When productive energies come into conflict with the interests of property and production and their social and political organs a phase of social revolution results by the passage of political power from one class to the other. Modern bourgeois society, arising from the ruins of feudalism, has not abolished class conflict, it has merely created new classes, other oppressive conditions and a new form of struggle replacing the old. During our own epoch society tends more and more to divide into two classes which oppose one another; the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At the same time that the bourgeois revolution brought these classes into contrast, they set up political rule by representative democracy, in which economical disparity is superimposed on the formal liberty and political equality of citizens of all classes in the constitution of the elective organs of the State. In spite of the numerical supremacy of the proletariat over that of the bourgeoisie, the democratic state still remains the organ of the interests administering the affairs of the bourgeois classes.

All classes and political struggles tend towards the transformation of the basis of production. The aim of Communists is the international organization of the proletariat into a political class government, the destruction of bourgeois power, the conquest of political power by the proletariat. The specific instrument of this action is the Communist Party.

This party, as the struggle must evolve within the limits of bourgeois rule, undertakes propaganda, proselytism, the criticism of capitalistic rule and political opposition to the ruling classes: in this wise we can justify, as a temporary measure, participation in electoral and parliamentary struggles.

When the revolutionary phase of the historical struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is initiated, the task of the international political party is the violent crushing of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the organization of the proletariat as the dominant class. From this moment it becomes incompatible to send deputies of the party to the representative organs of the bourgeois rule in which the proletariat is the oppressed class, and in the same manner to those

NOTES on the Revolutionary Movement of the World.

organs in which the property holding classes participate. During the great war which precipitated the definite crisis of the bourgeois, and which made it impossible for them to regulate the intimate contrasts of the world of production, the outbreak of the Russian Social Revolution marked the revolutionary period in which the proletariat rose successively to power in various countries by the violent conquest of state powers and therefore the Communist Parties must direct their tactics towards this realization. The class political party maintains intimate collaboration with the working syndicates (unions) co-ordinating and directing the action of the political struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. They constitute the provision of temporary organs of the working classes destined to prepare for and to organize measures for the crushing of bourgeois rule, and to assuming power in the early phase of the revolution.

When the proletariat shall have succeeded in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, it provides: temporary Committees to be immediately set up ready to assume local and centralized executive functions, the elections of local councils of workers must be inaugurated independently of the professional categories to which they belong, and divided into town and country constituencies. Both active and passive electoral rights will be reserved to the workers alone of both sexes independently of sex and nationality, only excluding those who live by exploiting the labor of others. In this way the foundations of proletarian dictatorship are laid. A Congress of local Councils will be convoked which will elect the Central Council; and this will assume executive functions by means of appropriate organs.

Any delegate can be recalled at any time by the will of the electorate. This system constitutes the proletarian State, an organ for the dominion of the working classes over the bourgeoisie and for its expropriation.

To prevent attempts at counter-revolution by the capitalistic class and so as to overcome the resistance that they will oppose to expropriation the proletariat must be armed by forming a class militia.

So soon as the Socialist State be formed it will form unlimited political and economical solidarity with any other Communist Republics in the world, and will aid the Communist movement in those countries still dominated by the bourgeoisie with all the means at its disposal.

The task of the proletarian Government is to take over gradually from the

bourgeoisie all capital so as to centralise all the instruments of production into State ownership, that is among the proletariat itself organized as a ruling class, so as to increase the volume of the productive energies as rapidly as possible.

The subsequent measures of socialization and expropriation will be co-ordinated to the economical and social conditions, and to the necessity for paralyzing production to the least possible degree during the process of transformation from private to communistic ownership.

The first measures will be: the socialization of financial capital and the suppression of the State debt, excluding small capitalists; the socialization of houses, means of transport, larger industrial and agricultural property. Special measures must be instituted affording inducements for small proprietors to come into the communistic organization voluntarily.

We maintain that such a process as this is the sole method of concrete realization of equality and human liberty, which predicates the disappearance of exploitation between man and man. The proletarian State will make use of all its repressive activities against individual or organized collectivities who endeavor to obstruct the realization of the communist program, not feeling justified in delaying the rapid evolution of social revolution by sacrificing it to the abstract and formal conception of liberty.

Together with the socialization of the various economical divisions they will cease to be a private affair of either individuals or groups of individuals so as to become the collective function of associated humanity.

The means and the measure of production and transport and the due disposition of products will be ordered by competent internationally affiliated organizations.

When expropriation of all capital is finally effected, the bourgeoisie will gradually be absorbed and will cease to exist as a separate class.

Public executive power will then lose its political character as there will no longer be two classes, one dominated and the other dominating.

Little by little the sad inheritance of degeneration which characterises capitalistic rule will be eliminated, and in the place of the old society divided into classes conflicting one with the other, an association will be instituted in which the free development of each individual will constitute the necessary condition for the free development of society in general.

According to the Swedish "Politiken" a Moscow report states that a Conference (International Bureau) of the Communist International will be held sometime in December to make final arrangements for the second Congress of the International. A report from the Latvian Communist Party says the Congress will be held this January. The social-patriotic second "International" will hold a Congress at Geneva in February.

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